

342 In simpler structures, such as house g (Photos. 64 and 67 to the right) and the summer dwellings (Photo. 7), there is no framework of rods, and because of this the leaves covering [110:196] the lower part of the shelter lean obliquely against the outer longitudinal poles with their stems resting directly upon the ground. The smaller sides are open in house g and only slightly covered [121] in the summer dwelling shown in Photograph 7. Structures of the latter type are erected in the fields and in neighboring wooded [226] areas when the dry season and its fishing opportunities lure the Indians into leaving their village and moving closer to the river in August, September, and October. The fact that the roofing of these temporary dwellings is not as good as that of permanent houses is understandable, since they are used as a protection against dew and sunlight rather than against rain properly speaking. The remnants of summer dwellings that I found along the trail leading from the river to the village consisted merely of a framework of poles lacking the finer latticework of sticks, and their covering was completely gone.

It is worth noting the existence of a sort of porch which took up entirely one of the smaller sides of house a and which was two and a half meters wide (Fig. 9). It was thatched only on its upper part, down to the longitudinal poles, and it was used by the men and women who wanted to be in the open air while lying in their hammocks or performing household tasks, but who wished to be sheltered from the sun (Photo. 48).

The house entrances are about the width of an adult person (Photos. 59 and 67), and they are bounded on top by the longitudinal pole, 1.60 meters from the ground. To my knowledge, they are never closed up.

[955] Reverend Kegel told me that during the rainy season the Tapirapé raise an earth bank around each house to prevent the waters from seeping in.

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• 251 Beside the houses there stand wooden frameworks, triangular or quadrangular according to the number of their legs, where manioc, peppers, and other fruits are laid out to dry and bananas are left to warm up in the sun.

345 The takana deserves special mention, not only because of its function as the men's house but also because of its appearance

352 bananas ripe for eating. The storeroom proper begins there and
 415 extends to the upper crossbeams, from which hang large quanti-
 (251) ties of bananas. Similar strips [of bark] tied to the roof just
 within the reach of a standing adult support small baskets, gourds,
 and small bags whose contents (usually manioc flour), like all
 foodstuffs, must be protected from the voracity of cockroaches and
 (342) dogs. The floor of the house is of light grey, beaten earth. Low,
 (343) oblong mounds mark the graves. The smoke that always fills the
 354 house gives the inner side of the entire thatch cover a shiny black

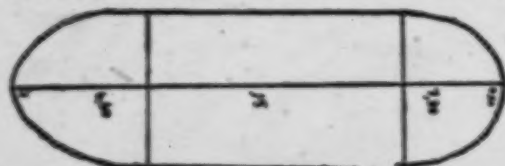


Fig. 11. Plan of the takana.

hue. The half-light maintained through the night by the fires
 burning beside the hammocks becomes a little brighter when day-
 light filters in through the slits in the lower part of the walls and
 through the doors.

Here is a nocturnal scene in house a.

The chickens roosting upon the roof keep moving unceasingly,
 and from all sides comes the rustling of myriads of scuttling roaches.

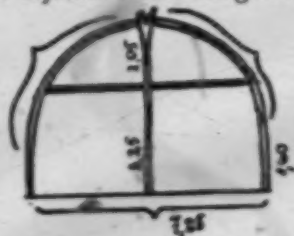


Fig. 12. Cross-section of the
takana.

The swinging of hammocks makes the crossbeams creak. The
 smoke from the fires is not sufficient to protect the naked bodies
 from mosquitoes, and because of this, the Tapirapé swings his
 hammock, pushing his hand or foot against a rope stretched at his
 side or hanging one leg outside the hammock and pushing with it
 against the floor. He swings in this fashion until he goes to sleep.

- 5/2 Hens and their chicks walk about the floor through the night eating cockroaches, and so do chickens who from infancy are used to the role of nocturnal birds around the fires. From time to time, a dog
- [231] walks leisurely about, patiently investigating the gastronomic possibilities. The large jars of cauf are closed tight, however,
- [251] and all other foods are hung out of reach. The dog yawns, urinates from habit against a beam, and lies down again near the fire. Sometimes one of the fires flares up, illuminating brightly the whole house, everything that is moving about, and everything that is making a sound. As far as noises are concerned, it must be said that the human beings do not show any constraint either, and this becomes more apparent as the talk dies down. As a rule, two or three hours after sundown, everyone has stopped talking. It is true that those who turn in later, around midnight perhaps, after dancing outside or becoming cold while sleeping in the takana, speak up freely so that some people awaken and the talk is resumed for a moment. I remain lying for a long time, unable to go to sleep. It is impossible to put up a mosquito net because of the smoke, which would come in [110:199] and accumulate, unable to escape. Then, too, there is not enough space in the house to stretch out this strange object. So I pull the woolen blanket over my head, and when I am on the point of suffocation and bathed in sweat, I surrender once more to the mosquitoes (*Anopheles* brand) and to the smoke. This is repeated I know not how many times. The cockroaches that visit me have already ceased to arouse any reaction on my part. Sometimes, however, the shirt I have folded up to serve as a pillow falls onto the grave where, separated vertically from me by a meter and a half of air and earth, lies the corpse of one of the occupants of the house. After I have picked it up, I shake it to remove the dust, trying not to think of the human spittle, the dog urine, and the chicken excrement, and set it again under my head. While I do this, I must be careful not to knock down the revolver and flashlight that I keep in my hammock to defend *Tampititaua* against nocturnal *Kayapó* attacks. All of a sudden, a
- [155] roar echoes very close to my ear. My hammock neighbors, the two sorcerers--medicine men, *Kamairahó* and *Urukumy*, are commonly consulted during the night, and the fierce retching and other sounds associated with vomiting are part of their therapy. My hammock is

123 [chief's] arrow." This "mercantilism" even operated in the area
 437 of "spiritual" (or "non-material") culture, for just as they had
 bartered dances and songs with the Karajá, they also demanded
 songs from me in exchange for theirs, and I had to teach them a
 song from my childhood, in which the fox is accused of having
 [533] stolen the goose ("Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen") to learn
 from them a children's ballad dealing with a mouse.

When the Tapirapé bartered among themselves, I observed
 considerable haggling. [Ed., end of Vol. 113.]

Chapter 9

[114:185]

The Diet

262 The last chapter referred to the importance of plants in the
 824 Tapirapé diet. First and foremost, there is manioc. Aside from
 fish, it is the only food mentioned in these Indians' description of
 [772] the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven lying
 above our visible one. The inhabitants of Tampiitáua call the
 roots of that Euphorbiacea by the generic name mandiaga. Ayrosa
 (4, 112) questions the Tupi origin of the word mandioca [manioc],

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have both "wild manioc"
 [771] (Manihot utilissima Pohl) and "sweet manioc" (Manihot dulcis Pax.).
 They distinguish five varieties of the Manihot genus, while the
 number of varieties known to the ancient Tupi was even greater
 (cf. Soares de Sousa 187; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXVIII;
 Métraux 2, 65).

171 Like those Indians, the Tapirapé have two basic ways of pre-
 252 paring the manioc roots for consumption: (1) by placing them for
 a few days in water until they become soft, turning them into what
 they call mandiyvungna and what is called puba [manioc mash] by
 the neo-Brazilians; (2) by grating them without putting them
 through the water treatment [114:186] (cf. Staden q 2; Soares de
 Sousa 189 and 191; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXIX; Claude
 d'Abbeville 304-305). Some of the varieties are prepared in either
 way, and others are prepared only in one way. The roots softened
 ●[251] in water are dried in the sun and pounded in the mortar, and the
 mashed substance is used in the manufacture of beiju [flat cakes]
 and cauí [a soup].

252 In the Tapirapé barbecues, the height at which the grille is fastened varies with its different functions. It is placed low to

• [251] roast meat or fish, and higher to dry it.

171 The pot is held by three stones laid around the fire, as I also
252 noted among the Karajá and as Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 48) ob-
[354] served among the Taulipáng of the Rio Branco basin. What Karl von den Steinen (2, 215) said of the Xingu Indians, that "The men roasted [meat], but never boiled it," may be said also of the Tapirapé and of numerous other South American tribes (cf. Baldus 7, 142 and Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 91, 335, 351). Speaking of the Karajá, Krause (2, 253) amends this rule with the fact that "the men also know how to boil [meat]," as they show on trips whenever necessary. This cannot be said of the Tapirapé. They do
[481] not carry pots on their journeys since they go on foot, while those Indians travel by canoe and therefore can take along with them heavy and breakable cooking utensils. Aside from this, the division of labor is so strict among the sexes that the Tapirapé man, if for some reason he does not have a wife, misses her simply from the fact that he cannot eat stew unless he is willing to take it from other families. On the other hand, the roasting of large animals is usually done by the men. It is only when game is killed close to the village that in some cases the women barbecue it. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

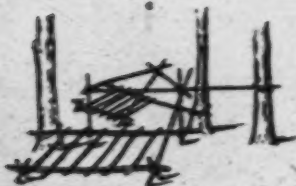
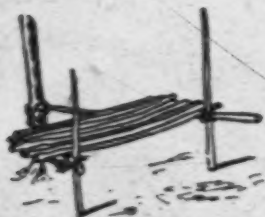
124 With the aim of setting up a Tapirapé zoological vocabulary, and also of finding out which animals were eaten by the inhabitants of Tampiitáua or by certain groups among them, I repeatedly showed to numerous persons of different ages and sex the figures in Rodolpho von Ihering's book entitled Da vida dos nossos animais. Fauna do Brasil [The Habits of Our Animals. Brazilian Fauna] (Rotermund & Co., São Leopoldo, 1934). This gave them much pleasure, and I recommend this method to Indianists as a way of establishing rapport. It also makes rather strict controls possible, since each animal is identified by several if not by numerous experts, and its name is pronounced several times by many individuals. Of course, a single look is not always sufficient for the Indian to recognize the animal represented. It is often necessary to [117:93] add comments about its size, color, motions, cry, and habits. Concerning certain insects, for example, the size of the

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[12] were lashed together with bast. They were obviously cut to size with stone axes, whereas thinner branches showed sharp knife cuts. Thus, iron knives have made their appearance here as a result of the carrying trade, even before a white man has seen the people themselves.

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The roasted booty is apparently taken along by the Indians

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←411
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Ill. 269 a-c.

Grills from the large
roasting place of the
Tapirapé.



Ill. 270 a, b. Arrows.

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on their further expeditions to other water places. For this purpose they use transport back-baskets as well as smaller carrying bags, of which I brought along a selection from the specimens lying about at the roasting places.